New South

- **West Virginia Press**
  Harry W. Ernst
- **In Baton Rouge, An Inquisition**
- **Responsibility**
  George S. Mitchell

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New South

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New South Notes

The role of the press in the integration-segregation dispute is being discussed more and more. *New South*, this month, reprints an article from *The Quill* by Harry W. Ernst concerning the West Virginia press and its role in the integration of schools in that state. Mr. Ernst, who writes for the Charleston, West Virginia, *Gazette*, not only describes how the papers of his state played the integration story, but gives *New South* readers the benefit of a survey of 32 editors of dailies and weeklies in West Virginia on how newspapers can contribute to better race relations.

Recent events in Louisiana concerning the state's proposed investigation of 66 members of Louisiana State University for signing a petition opposing the closing of public schools has drawn fire from several different quarters. Here, *New South* presents a forthright editorial from the Charlotte, North Carolina, *Observer* concerning these Louisiana events.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, contributes an article to *New South* this month with a "new principle" in race relations. Dr. Mitchell discusses responsibility and how it comes about.

New South presents a new feature this month, one that will appear between its covers from time to time. The feature is a digest of current material in race relations and related subjects. *New South* will summarize recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length selections in an attempt to keep its readers abreast of the large volume of material appearing in the field.

West Virginia Press Sets Good Example

by HARRY W. ERNST

Reprinted From Quill

West Virginia newspapers are dramatizing the delicate responsibility of mass media in helping cleanse the American psyche of a disruptive demon —prejudice.

They've played a significant role, through enlightened news coverage and editorial support, in the so far successful integration of their state's public schools.

While Little Rocks and Clintons have kept copyreaders busy, a quiet social revolution has been carried out in West Virginia, the most border of the border states.

The opening of the 1957-58 school year saw West Virginia become the first of the segregated states affected by the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision to move toward complete compliance in all of its fifty-five county school systems.

In citing West Virginia as a model for desegregating states, leaders in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have praised the role of its press in contributing to the smooth transition. Basically, Mountain State daily and weekly newspapers have helped create a climate in which classroom integration could move forward with a minimum of pubilc protest.

No West Virginia newspapers have opposed desegregation in the schools. The largest and most influential dailies with state-wide circulations have enthusiastically supported it. Television and radio stations also have provided fair and non-inflammatory coverage.

Mass Media helped smooth the way for integration's acceptance by West Virginians, regardless of their personal convictions. With public officials and the press solidly aligned against them, "respectable" segregationists couldn't afford to risk their reputations in what looked like a hopeless fight to maintain an outmoded status quo.

They surrendered meekly, refusing to lend their financial support or prestige to anti-integration movements. An attempt to organize a state-wide segregation council in 1956 failed miserably—only a dozen people, mostly crackpots of the right-wing political variety—showed up at its organizational meeting.

So West Virginia's county school boards moved carefully to comply with the law . . . bolstered by the firm support of former Gov. Marland, an unwavering judiciary, and the legal-prodding of a diplomatic State NAACP.

"We helped create a climate in which the people generally turned up their noses at racist rabble-rousers making it impossible for respectable men to support them," explained L. T. Anderson, city editor of The Charleston *Gazette*,

West Virginia

(Continued)

the state's largest daily which circulates throughout southern and central West Virginia.

"It's remarkable that no newspaper opposed school integration in this semi-Southern state," he said. A former editor of the Hinton *Daily News*, Anderson also writes an H. L. Mencken-type column for the consolidated Sunday *Gazette-Mail*.

"The few segregationists who spoke up publicly were humiliated in our editorial columns," he continued. So they failed to rally widespread support for their cause.

In this way West Virginia newspapers helped avert the anarchistic rebellions that have plagued other border states when they've tried to integrate their schools. Editorial calls-to-arms can trigger dangerous community explosions.

Opposition Slight

"There's a great deal of sentiment in the southern end of the state opposing school integration," Anderson said. "And probably some editors don't like it. But they decided what may be personally unpleasant for them still may not be right and proper."

Attitudes of West Virginians toward school integration reflect their homeland's geographic confusion. Accepted nonchalantly in northern counties, it was greeted with a smattering of unsuccessful public protests in some southern counties.

White and Negro children always had attended separate schools in West Virginia until the Supreme Court decision four years ago. The state constitution, adopted in 1872, established segregated schools but protected the Negro's right to vote, and hold public office. And the South's first segregated public school for Negroes was established at Parkersburg in 1866.

Integration Block

Although faced with this bewildering criss-cross of public sentiment and custom, West Virginia editors either supported integration or maintained discreet editorial silence—unlike most of their brethren farther South.

"With the exception of a few papers, the press is the biggest block against orderly integration in the Deep South," said Mrs. Ruby Hurley of Atlanta, southeastern regional director of the NAACP.

"Many newspapers stir up violence with inflammatory coverage of the news," she charged in a Charleston interview last year.

In a recent address to the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, Governor Leroy Collins of Florida warned the region's press of its responsibilities in helping create better race relations.

" . . . As publishers of newspapers in this troubled region, you have an unequalled opportunity—and a responsibility as well—to develop and defend a public atmosphere free of racial fears and bigotry," he said.

"The South is at one of history's crossroads . . . we can either miss our greatest opportunity and go blindly down a road of turmoil and frustration or we can seize the opportunity to clear the emotional atmosphere and undertake our rightful responsibilities.

"Screaming abuse at the Supreme Court will avail us nothing . . . we must find a way of right and reason under law . . . "

After the Supreme Court decision, West Virginia newspapers seized the "unequalled opportunity" which Governor Collins described.

Through factual news coverage and consistent editorial support, the press helped prepare the public for school integration. In Kanawha County, the Charleston *Daily Mail* and the *Gazette* worked closely with school officials for the successful integration of one of the nation's fifty largest school systems.

"Integration in Kanawha County schools was aided materially by the fine cooperation of the newspapers in helping prepare the public and the students," said Superintendent L. K. Lovenstein. "The success of our program is due in no small measure to the continuing cooperation of the *Mail* and the *Gazette.*

Editorial Support

In the fall of 1956, Kanawha County completely integrated its Negro and white pupils and teachers. The county system, which always had been segregated, is now one of the most thoroughly integrated school districts in the nation.

Superintendent Lovenstein cited editorial support of the integration program and restrained news coverage as the two most vital contributions of Charleston newspapers.

"Minor incidents, often arising from personality conflicts between students, might have provoked serious trouble if exploited by the papers," he said. "Trouble-makers wait for such opportunities to give them an excuse to break the law."

Two weekly editors, Luther R. Jones of the *Coal Valley News* in Boone County and Robert K. Holliday of the Montgomery *Herald* in Fayette County, also cooperated with their school boards.

Strike Collapsed

Jones even talked to students at the county's largest high school, urging them to ignore a minority of their classmates who were striking in protest against integration. Under firm pressure from school officials, the strike collapsed and integration marched on.

"I tried to show my readers that the Supreme Court decision is the absolute law of the land and the Board of Education must accept and enforce it . . .," he said.

And Holliday prepared his readers with non-inflammatory news coverage of the school board's integration program. "A story treated only for sensational purposes will do great harm," he said. "We try to be fair in our dealings with every person regardless of the color of his skin."

In a survey of thirty-two editors of West Virginia dailies and weeklies on how newspapers can contribute to improved race relations, this theme was woven in and out of their replies:

"Treat everybody alike. It's that simple," wrote Con Hardman, managing editor of the *Dominion News* in Morgantown, home of West Virginia University.

"We do not regard Negroes as constituting any separate class or group in our community," explained Brooks Cottle, editor of the Morgantown *Post.* "We treat them exactly as we treat all others."

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(Continued)

"They are people, they are news, they are individuals," write John W. Barger, editor-owner of the Keyser *News-Tribune.*

"Handling news without regard to color will in the long run promote the feeling that 'race' relations are arbitrary, artificial and ambiguous," said F. N. McCamic, editor of the Wellsburg *Daily Herald.*

And wrote Emile J. Hodel, editor of the Beckley *Post-Herald*: "Our support (of school integration) was mild but firm at all levels. We do not believe in second-class citizenship, hypocritical Christianity or democracy for a favored majority . . ."

Race Tags

From the experiences of these editors, their colleagues elsewhere and the insights of sociologists merges this four-point policy which newspapers could use as a guide in helping sweep intolerance from the American psyche:

1. Stop identifying individuals by their race in news stories. Race labeling is "a subtle form of discrimination designed to segregate individuals in the mind of the public." Columnist George S. Schuyler of the Pittsburgh *Courier* has pointed out. "Negro News" columns should be dropped for the same reason.

Gordon W. Allport of Harvard, in his exhaustive study, "The Nature of Prejudice," analyzes the role of mass media in re-enforcing stereotypes, which help justify a person's hostility toward a minority group.

A steady diet of crime stories identifying the criminals as Negroes "is bound to leave a lasting effect on readers, particularly if this association is not offset by news items favorable to the colored group," he explains.

Policies

"And there are, no doubt, certain newspapers that have a deliberate policy of disparaging Negroes. Some Southern newspapers make it a practice, for example, never to capitalize the word Negro. Spelled with a small 'n' it seems, through some verbal magic, to help hold the race 'where it belongs.' "

In a 1946 editorial explaining its position, The New York *Times* said: "Each of us contributes, in his daily acts, toward good-will or ill-will in our communities. The press, we believe, has a special and heavy responsibility, not merely editorially . . . but in its treatment of news."

That's why, the editorial explains, the *Times* only uses the race of a person when there's "a legitimate purpose to be served thereby."

"By this we mean that it is correct to refer to race when the accused is still at large and race seems one mark of identification. It is also correct, when, as in the case of race riots or racial antagonisms, it becomes essential to the understanding of the news."

The *Times* reluctantly identifies a person as a Negro if he "does anything particularly meritorious . . . I look forward to the day when even that helping hand may not be necessary," Publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger said recently.

Others question whether the label should be used even as a helping hand.

"It's a dreadful mistake to say look what this Negro accomplished rather than what this man accomplishes—the effect of meritorious race labeling," said Anderson, city editor of the *Gazette*.

"That approach creates the very attitude you want to destroy: the Negro isn't a human being like the rest of us and should be patted on the back for his every significant achievement."

For years the *Gazette* has avoided race labeling. Its women's pages also are open to Negroes on an equal basis, as are those of several other West Virginia dailies. Old-time society pages have resisted the calls for equality longer than any other newspaper section, while sports writers have pioneered equal treatment for the Negro as an athlete, not a Negro.

Wire Services

A slippery stumbling block in the path of an editor who wants to eliminate race labeling is the policy of major wire services, which sometimes use the race label even when it isn't an essential ingredient of the story. In the rush to meet deadlines, the label may slip by the copy desk.

2. Devote more space to examples of harmonious race relations and the newsworthy accomplishments of Negroes. Newspapers also should give their readers more background on the causes of racial tensions and troubles.

"Much more than it has so far, the press should report, interpret, and discuss the facts and attitudes involved in the crucial issue of race relations," said Sulzberger of the New York *Times*.

"We need to know widely about communities that have established successful patterns of integration so that other communities can take encouragement from their success," he continued. "Out of such a flow of information will come the fulfillment of the crusade for equality."

Special Report

For editors who argue that their readers are only interested in bloodshed and comic strips, there's a lesson to be learned from what happened when the *Times* published a special report on school integration in the South two years ago.

Anticipating widespread interest, the circulation department ordered 100,000 extra papers. Despite executive misgivings, the extra papers were distributed and "we had one of the rarest experiences in newspaper publishing — a 'clean sellout,' " Sulzberger said.

"There was literally not a single unsold copy left and when we were able to make an accounting, we found that the net paid sale for the day was well over 700,000 copies, the largest on any weekday in the *Times*' history.

3. Don't hush up serious racial incidents, but report them with the greatest accuracy and factualness to avoid stirring up mob violence. Absence of news will inspire hard-to-control rumors, which inflame the public far more than responsible news coverage. Sensationalizing such incidents, however, will sharpen community tensions.

Special caution should be used in dealing with the sensitive egos of adolescents, especially those who act out parental preudice by participating in demonstrations against school integration.

Whenever a handful of teen-agers in southern West Virginia threatened a strike to protest integration, their ring-

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leaders invariably called the *Gazette* and asked for coverage.

"We just sneered at them, pointing out that whatever they did was too trivial for us to fool with," Anderson said.

"They wanted attention. So when the cameras failed to show up, nothing ever happened."

The *Gazette* always covers serious racial incidents, he pointed out, but cautiously avoids sensationalizing them. Wire stories on troubles in other states are played according to their merit.

"We don't hush up any serious conflicts," Anderson said. "However, a newspaper can do irreparable harm by exploiting racial troubles. This must be considered in determining how the story is written and played."

4. Replace wishy-washy editorials on the glories of brotherhood and evils of prejudice with ones that take strong stands on specific discriminatory situations. And editorializing without adequate news coverage is fruitless since your readers can't understand or respond.

" . . . It is wiser to attack segregation and discrimination than to attack prejudice directly," Allport writes. Even if a vague brotherhood message weakens the reader's prejudice, he can't act out his new attitude in a segregated society that denies him equal-status contact with Negroes, which many social scientists consider the most effective weapon against prejudice.

Editors also should use more ridicule and humor in their war on bigotry. " . . . Ridicule and humor help to prick the pomposity and irrational appeal of rabble-rousers," Allport believes. "Laughter is a weapon against bigotry. It too often lies rusty while reformers grow unnecessarily solemn and heavy-handed."

Here are two examples of how ridicule and humor can be used in the crusade for equality. This shorty editorial appeared in the *Gazette* during the annual fall outburst against school integration in the South:

"It is refreshing to note while sporadic violence is being reported in connection with school integration in the South, that most West Virginians have better things to do than form mobs and jeer at little children."

And Anderson devoted one of his Sunday columns to "The Hero of Little Rock," Bollweevil J. Whitetrash, who explained his brave action in keeping a little Negro girl from entering Central High School with this remark:

"I ain't never been in no school and by grabs I wasn't gonna let her get in neither."

But perhaps Richard Parrish, editor of *The West Virginian* in Fairmont, put his typewriter on the basic source of a newspaper's strength in fighting prejudice:

"A good editor will always employ his editorials in the interests of fair play and in strong opposition to any evidence of intolerance.

"If he isn't ready at all times to 'stick his neck out' all the way in such matters, he should quit."

In Baton Rouge, An Inquisition

From

Charlotte Observer

Louisiana is getting ready to parade before the country the sorry spectacle of an inquisition inside a university.

Its segregationist legislature is alarmed that 66 members of the faculty of Louisiana State University would dare to sign a petition opposing the closing of public schools ordered to admit Negroes. A committee of representatives and senators has come storming onto the scene like volunteer firemen, sending out questionnaires and talking darkly of "Communist connections" and "subversive tendencies."

We doubt that there is even a touch of Communism in Baton Rouge. What there is, obviously, is a sizeable group of individuals with the ability to think their own thoughts on a controversial subject and the courage to make those thoughts public. To a board of inquisitors from a dark age legislature, this can be even worse than Communism.

If a university is anything, in the deepest sense, it is a place where people are free to think and speak, to follow facts to their own conclusions. This is not anything written into a charter or inscribed on a cornerstone; it is a spirit, and a fragile one at that. It cannot survive with vigilantes roaming the campus, looking over shoulders and breathing down necks. And once it is gone a university is no longer a university. It is more nearly a prison with a football team.

The president of Dartmouth College was heard to say recently that now, for the first time, the rich Northern schools can come South and hire almost any good professor they want. They could not formerly do this, their money notwithstanding. And the reason they can do it now is the police state atmosphere in much of the South, where academic freedom is drowned in the racial turmoil and where such things can occur as are now occurring in Baton Rouge.

Louisiana can drive out its thinkers because they happen to be thinking unpopular thoughts. But other regions will be the richer, and the South much the poorer, for their going.

Responsibility Comes When Need Is There

By George H. Mitchell

Formerly
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

In race relations there's one new principle, which so far as I know has been little tried in the problems of the South. I commend its use.

Hard to know what to call the principle, perhaps just "responsibility." You come at it by a matter of history. The British Government has had a colonial empire, containing just about every variety of peoples. Latterly, all these underneath peoples have been asking to be free and independent, and equal to anybody else. The British Government burned its fingers by refusing to recognize the claim of the American colonists for such a status, but it has learned a thing or two since. Certainly it turned Canada loose, and Australia and New Zealand, and Eire, and (perhaps too soon) South Africa. But what was it to do about India, and Burma, and Ceylon, and Nigeria in the Gold Coast, and the British West Indies, where most of the people were Asians or Africans, had had little or no experience of self-government, and were ill-equipped technically to cope with the problems of the modern world? Turn them loose, and let them go smash? Hold on tight, and hope for the best? That's where the new principle comes in.

India's the best case. A dozen years ago hardly anyone believed that the time had come to set India free. A people hopelessly divided, with hundreds of different languages; the great bulk of them illiterate villagers. The labor people said, "Turn it over to the Indians." Finally a Government came in that did turn it over to India; and India did very well. Honest elections, sensible policy; one of the hopes for the peace of the world. Ceylon the

same way. Then Burma, which chose not to stay in the British Commonwealth, but kept many financial ties. More lately Malaya, which had an impossibly divided situation, but wanted to be on its own, and was given the chance. And the same device has worked notably in the Gold Coast, and is in its later stages in Nigeria. The Gold Coast instance is particularly instructive. Here was a people with little written language of their own, economically not advanced, and with a tiny strip of a professional class of its own. But Government took the leap, and announced to the Gold Coast some years back: "In 1957 we will give you your independence, and you will be on your own." Miraculously, this people prepared themselves for the responsibility they were to have. Every person who could read and write taught ten more, and each of the ten taught ten, and so on; until in a matter of months they had brought the illiteracy figures down to something respectable. And they conscientiously trained a group of men who could take over most of the technical and administrative posts. They introduced a system of local government, and practiced on working it. And the *day* came, as promised, and they were established as the independent nation of Ghana. They've made a few mistakes, but by and large they are governing themselves, sending out their ambassadors to Washington and to South Africa, have chosen to stay in association with the other British-related powers, and are the logical spreading-point for democratic processes throughout West Africa. So the business works.

What's that got to do with us?

Happily we in the South don't know such a thing as racial nationalism, though the Communists once tried to preach it to us. Few people have any notion of setting up an all-Negro economy; most Negro people are very well satisfied with the United States as it is; only they would like its benefits equally available to them. So there's no proposal to unhook from the rest of the United States.

The problem is to get a people who have for a couple of centuries been denied responsibility to take it on. I used frequently to ask audiences of Southern business men if they did not agree that free private enterprise is the most powerful motive in the modern world. Pretty much they would agree. "Well then, if you were a slave, would free private enterprise drive you to work for the master or to take a snooze behind the hay-stack?" After slavery we in the South systematically denied to the Negro people all the rewards that go with a free society. Ask to vote, and you'd get turned down. Try to buy a nice house, and they'd burn you out. Do something deserving, and try to find your picture in the paper. This extra century of scorn has strengthened the belief of many Negro persons that the regular virtues can't succeed; and that there's no way to get the breaks except to make them.

Problem: how to reverse that whole pressure.

Suggestion: Let the local school board in this or that forward-looking city or town announce that having considered the matter of opening the schools it would on such and such a date (fairly soon, usually: say September, 1958, or January, 1959) open the schools,

Responsibility

(Continued)

freely and without impediments. I will guarantee that not many nights after the announcement there will be in that town an all-Negro meeting, in some Negro church. And when the chairman is satisfied that no white persons are present the statement will be made: "Look here, now, this thing's getting serious. How many of these little colored children have we got that really are ready to go to school with the whites?" And the total would be something quite manageable; ten, or eighteen, or twenty-seven. And what would have happened? The school board would by its action have shifted the responsibility to the Negro community to make the thing work, and they would make it work.

It might be objected that, as in Ghana, the category of the professional and the middle-station among the Negro population is too narrow to exert any discipline over the others. It is, in some places; in many others, it isn't. Pretty strong lines from the leading Negro personages to the general body of the Negro community exist, and these ties are constantly getting stronger. And the full strength of the leadership of the better-circumstanced, with most at stake, would be brought into play on the side of reasonableness, and results. The entire Negro community would be on its mettle to earn credit for the behavior of the twenty-seven who would first go into the white schools. That's a pressure worth taking a lot of trouble to achieve.

The needed act: graciousness on the part of the white community, which has graciousness within its power.

John Kasper, the rabble-rousing racial agitator, has served his prison sentence for contempt of court. The first thing he said on being released was that he soon would be up to his old tricks again. This means he will be stirring up hatred, fanning passions and inciting violence. That was his stock in trade before he went to jail.

Unfortunately, Kasper's imprisonment might serve to make him a sort of martyr in the eyes of the radical members of the "lunatic fringe" whose sole weapon in fighting integration is violence and who hate with a vengeance.

This roving agitator discredited himself when, by his own admission, he confessed to attending mixed social events in the North where both whites and Negros mingled freely.

How, then, can he claim for himself the leadership of the segregationists forces in the South?

Before anyone accepts this leadership again—which obviously he is offering—they should look into his background, inquire into his past associations, the sources of his income and find out why he acts as he does ... From an editorial in the *Augusta Chronicle.*

Highlights of Recent Literature

NEW SOUTH summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These digests liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

Wright, Charles Alan. SCHOOL INTEGRATION: AN ALMOST LOST CAUSE. *The Progressive*, August, 1958, pp. 7-10.

Today it is entirely conceivable that in major parts of the South the schools will never be desegregated. Integration which has so far been accomplished is only in those places where it is easy. Four years have shown that the South will not end segregation because it is no longer lawful or because it is immoral, and in many instances violence and delaying legalism have effectively preserved segregation despite specific court orders.

It is virtually unprecedented to leave enforcement of the law of the land exclusively to the pitfully inadequate resources of private lawsuits, brought and financed by private persons. The federal government alone has the money, the legal manpower, the patience, the power, and the express constitutional authority to require compliance. Segregation will be ended only if the government of the U. S. recognizes its function and responsibility and if Congress corrects the mistake it made in abandoning Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Our claim to a strong federal union and constitutional government under law is at stake.

Tumin, Melvin; Barton, Paul; Burrus, Bernie. EDUCATION, PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION: A STUDY IN READINESS FOR DESEGREGATION. American Sociological Review, Volume 23, No. 1, February, 1958.

Recent research and theory suggests that a variety of facilitating or inhibiting factors, such as law, conscience, and informal community restraints, can be interposed between an individual's attitude of prejudice and his action of discrimination (i.e., his private feeling and public action).

In seeking factors which help counterbalance the impulses and drives of emotionally-rooted prejudice, it is important to note the impact of formal education upon behavior. Through formal education, larger perspectives develop without any necessary or matching reduction in the emotional sets against which they are posed. Countervailing perspectives, developed during the course of formal education, help to produce an increasingly mature and socially responsible individual.

In support of this hypothesis, the authors present a portion of the results of a study in readiness for and resistance to desegregation conducted in Guilford County, North Carolina, in the fall of 1956. Their findings indicate that the ideology, sentiments, and actions of the more highly educated individual are tempered by his awareness and anticipation of the costs and consequences of discrimination, although his image of the Negro may express prejudice to a

Highlights

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degree not significantly lower than that of less well educated groups.

Jones, Lewis and Smith, Stanley. *Tuskegee, Alabama: VOTING RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE;* Pamphlet, published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in cooperation with the National Council of the Churches of Christ. May be ordered from the ADL, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22; price: 50c per copy. 46 pages. June, 1958.

In Tuskegee in the summer of 1957, a series of events involving the issue of Negro voting rights developed into a racial crisis of broad significance.

At stake in the white community—the numerical minority—was its traditional power of exclusive political control as well as traditional white supremacy in many other areas within society. For the entire Negro community, all hopes and aspirations were at stake.

The authors present a comprehensive background on and description of the conflicting forces in Tuskegee, and summarize the struggle of the Negro community for enfranchisement. In summary they state that application of economic pressure by the Negroes has seriously endangered the business community, however, the goal of such pressure—voting rights—has not been achieved. The ability of Tuskegee Negroes to organize an effective general boycott of the white business community has had an important effect upon the struggle of Negroes for civil rights in Alabama and Southwide.

Segal, Benjamin D. INDUSTRIALIZATION: ACCENT ON THE SOUTH. Pamphlet reprinted from *Labor's Daily* and distributed by Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights, 1244-19th Street, N.W., Room 301, Washington 6, D.C. at 10c a copy. 33 pages.

Basic changes are occurring in the economy of the South that must have a vital impact on the plans of organized labor. After a century of agrarian economy, a late beginning in technological development, and an accelerated World War II industrial expansion (which was, however, primarily in low-paying industries with poor reconversion possibilities), the South is today holding its own in industrial expansion, although the rate of increase is not at present ahead of the rest of the nation.

Very real progress has been made, but the South is not building nearly as fast as one is sometimes led to believe, and the pattern of growth has its drawbacks as well as its encouraging side. "New type" industry has given the region a real lift, however, low profit industries, with the lowest wages, show a greater expansion. Population has been shifting—out of the rural districts and out of the poorest states. Wage differentials—based on both geography and race—still prevail to the disadvantage of the Southern worker.

Expansion of under-developed research facilities and the solution of race relations problems are among the multitude of factors affecting the solution of the southern economic problem. Organization of the South—still labor's number one problem—is a job which must be done for the good of the South and for the good of American workers.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"Insurance companies, which have a great deal of money invested in tax-exempt school bonds in the South, apparently have been worrying about the effect of laws—such as the one recently passed by Georgia—which would permit states to make public schools private. But, reports Cleveland Amory in the *Saturday Review*, a reassuring bulletin has just come along from the American Mutual Liability Insurance Company of Boston. 'Southerners are intelligent and realistic,' the bulletin said. 'Integration is one thing. Credit is another.' "

Harry Fleischman
in "Let's Be Human"

* * *

"This violence hurts us more than the people here realize. You try to sell a man on moving an industrial plant to Tennessee. But he knows about these acts of violence. and he doesn't want to move into that kind of thing."

George L. Benedict, Jr..
Tennessee Industrial and Agricultural Development Commission,
Quoted in CHATTANOOGA TIMES

* * *

"(I) simply stood for that which I believed right, lawful and the best for all people. I have seen something of what preudice, discrimination and hatred can do. I have understood as never before what it is to be the brunt of these things. I haven't wanted to be a martyr. I only wanted to stand in my place of duty and to do my job."

Supt. Ben L. Smith,
Greensboro City Schools,
concerning integration of schools,
Quoted by UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

* * *

"Atlanta as a community of progressive citizens just does not provide a good climate for hate-peddlers and rabble-rousers who would hope to stir up ill-will for minority groups among us. Unhappily, as the demonstration by (anti-Jewish group) reminds us, there are in our midst a misguided few whose frustrated, ugly thoughts lead them into stupid acts and could, even, lead them into desperate acts. The latter must be avoided. Partly this calls for police vigilance, and partly it calls for demonstrations of citywide scorn and disgust for any and all who make hate their business."

From the ATLANTA JOURNAL

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"Some of the children were nice to me. Others were not friendly, but those who were made up for those who did not like me. The teachers helped a lot too. This has been a challenging experience which has helped me tremendously. I have made many friends through letters and through people and merchants in the community who have helped me all the way."

Gwendolyn Bailey,
first Negro student to attend formerly all-white school in
Winston-Salem, N. C.,
Quoted in JOURNAL AND SENTINEL